May 1957

Fellowship

MURIEL LESTER AND FRIENDS

30¢

The Case Against Pacifism . . . Answered

by Wallace Hancock

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COVER PHOTO: Muriel Lester and friends at the Tolstoi Farm, Yasnaya Polyana, USSR. At right, Indian Ambassador K. P. S. Menon and Mrs. Menon.

FELLOWSHIP

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Member, Associated Church Press

Fellowship is published monthly except August. Re-entered as second-class matter March 1, 1957, at the Post Office at Nyack, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879; additional entry at Lebanon, Pa.

Fellowship Published by the **Fellowship of Reconciliation,** Nyack, N. Y.

JOHN M. SWOMLEY, JR., Secretary — A. J. MUSTE, Secretary-Emeritus — GLENN E. SMILEY, Field Secretary

30 Cents a Copy
$3 a Year

Fellowship

The WORLD in FOCUS

VOLUME 23, NUMBER 5 MAY 1957

New Look

The British announced their "revolutionary" new defense policy just as this issue of FELLOWSHIP went to press. It had two parts: (1) because military expenditures constitute an intolerable burden on the British economy, the conventional army, navy and air force will be greatly reduced, and the draft ended; and (2) because Britain is indefensible in nuclear war, emphasis will be placed on building a "deterrent" force of H-bombs and guided missiles.

There is, of course, nothing really revolutionary about that, unless it is revolutionary for a government to recognize what everyone else has known for a long time. The Pentagon was reputedly dismayed at the "defeatist" admission that the British Isles could not be defended in an atom war, though it also acknowledges that this is the case. Shortly after the first H-bomb tests, the British press published maps showing how all England could be blanketed by a handful of bombs.

The deterrent theory, which is also the real basis of American policy, is unthinkably dangerous precisely because it has a limited validity. Certainly the knowledge that another world war would be fought with nuclear weapons serves to "deter" both sides of the power struggle from moves that might precipitate such a conflict. It is tempting for statesmen and the public alike to believe that they have thus found a cheap way to peace.

The other side of the coin, however, is the concentration of ef-

fort and expense required of each side to stay abreast of the other in the race to build the instruments of mass death. That concentration will leave no real energy to deal with the problems that cause wars, as it does not even now. And at the same time, it will pile fear on fear until one side or the other snaps the tension in a desperate effort to destroy its enemy before it is destroyed.

The logic of war in our times has come to its climax. Not only the British Isles, but the whole world, lies defenseless before the threat of atomic war. In the face of total war, only total peace will do.

Deterrence

The British decision also confronts the British people, and later our own, with an inescapable moral dilemma. Dependence upon the method of deterrence and such instruments as H-bombs and guided missiles means acquiescence in preparations to murder whole cities and continents as the *only* contemplated action if war comes. If the Christian conscience surmounts this, its agility is equal to any challenge.

Cop

J. Edgar Hoover, director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, is probably the world's best-known policeman. The respect he is accorded amounts to adulation. His opinions are sought on every subject from Communist doctrine to the best way to promote Sunday school attendance. Burglars, bishops and members of the United States Senate appear equally overawed by him, and it would hardly be exaggeration to say that to challenge Mr. Hoover's authority comes close these days to subversion.

According to the press, Mr. Hoover appeared recently before the Senate Internal Security Committee to testify, among other things, about the meaning of the convention of the American Communist Party in February. In the course of his testimony he dwelt upon the presence at the convention of a dozen non-Communist observers. Here is what he said:

> "The Communists boasted of having 'impartial observers' cover the convention. However, most of these socalled 'impartial' observers were handpicked before the convention started and were reportedly headed by A. J. Muste, who has long fronted for Communists and who recently

circulated an amnesty petition calling for the release of Communist leaders convicted under the Smith Act. Muste's report on the Convention was as biased as could be expected. On the other hand, an observer whom the party did not handpick and who was more objective, Carl Rachlin, of the American Civil Liberties Union, has stated that the arguments for democracy within the Party were 'merely tactical and designed to fool the public.' "

These, on the other hand, are the facts, which it is difficult to believe that Mr. Hoover's large corps of bright young operatives could not have uncovered:

"These so-called 'impartial' observers were handpicked. . . ." Neither the Communist Party nor any Communist had anything to do with selecting the observers. They were invited by the group that initiated the idea, including A. J. Muste and Norman Thomas. In some cases individuals were invited; in others, organizations were asked to select representatives.

". . . A. J. Muste, who has long fronted for Communists. . . ." Mr. Muste's long anti-totalitarian record, which made him anathema to the Stalinists, is a matter of record. Among other places, that record is lodged in Mr. Hoover's own files.

". . . circulated an amnesty petition. . . ." Mr. Hoover has referred to this petition before as "proof" of a given signer's "Communist sympathies." It has been called to his attention—but he has never acknowledged it—that the petition explicitly notes its sponsors' "fundamental disagreement" with communism. He knows also that it was signed by such widely known anti-Communists as Norman Thomas and Eleanor Roosevelt.

". . . an observer whom the party did not pick and who was more objective. . . ." No observer was picked by the Party. Mr. Rachlin was selected to attend by the New York Civil Liberties Union, which was invited by the same persons who sent the other invitations. His report to the Senate Internal Security Committee was so far from an objective statement of what actually happened at the convention as to have impelled eight other observers, including this department, to release a statement about it, which they had not theretofore been planning to do.

All these facts have been sent to both Mr. Hoover and Senator McClellan, chairman of the committee. To date no acknowledgment has been received from either.

CD—Chapter Umpteen

Congress has tentatively cut the appropriation for the Federal Civil Defense Administration from the $130 million requested by President Eisenhower to $39 million. (Last year it was $93 million.) Observers say the reason for the cut is dissatisfaction with Director Val Peterson's concentration on evacuation of cities as the only defense against nuclear air raids. Witnesses before the Holifield Committee testified that evacuation was unthinkable, and that concentration should be on shelters.

Simultaneously, or almost, NATO's expert on CD, Sir John Hodsall, came out with the observation that no nation can possibly hope to build shelters for its people. New dispersal techniques are needed, *he* says.

Oh, well!

Seed Beneath the Snow

While the nations go on making bombs and issuing ultimatums, the tiny roots of love spread into new areas all the time. From England comes news of a mental hospital that has "unlocked all the doors" for its 1380 patients.

The results?

"Violence and hostility have almost been eliminated."

"There are fewer escapes."

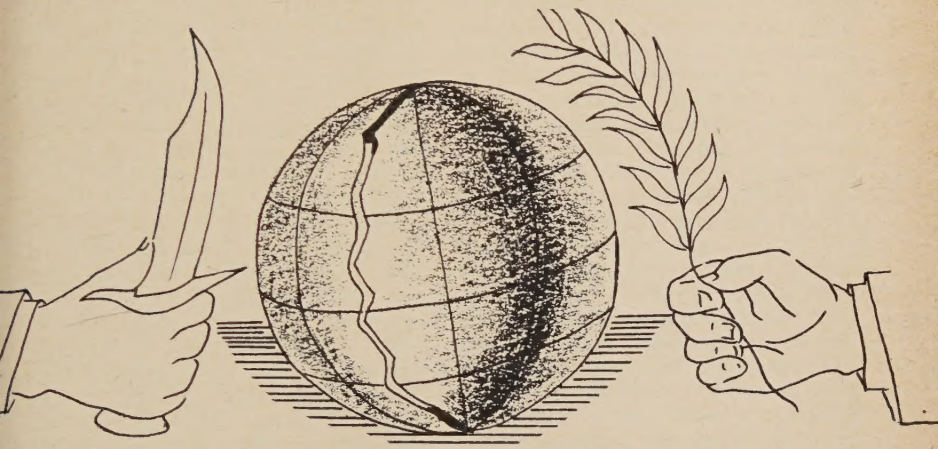
"Nurses are no longer regarded as turnkeys."

"Forced feeding has virtually disappeared."

"Patients have learned to be independent and responsible. Although the hospital is 40 percent overcrowded, it has been changed from a detention home to a curative center."

This is what we deal with always, in the mentally sick, in the criminal, in the racist, in the tyrant and in the angry victim of his exploitation and oppression: the endless need of the spirit of man for respect and dignity and love. To recognize it and order our lives and foreign policies on it is the most revolutionary action we can take, before which no problem of personality or politics can forever remain unsolved.

THE CASE AGAINST PACIFISM . . . *ANSWERED*



By Wallace Hancock

THE CASE AGAINST PACIFISM

Pacifism is Unpractical Idealism

PACIFISM is an ideal—an ideal which will not be realized in any foreseeable future because of the limitations of human nature considered at the personal level and the far greater limitations and failings inherent when human beings live in a national community. The Christian Church concedes that pacifism is a Christian ideal when it says, as it has often done, "War is incompatible with the teachings and spirit of Christ." But the number of men or women who have contrived to live lives which have approximated to the "teachings and spirit of Christ" has been negligible. With commendable frankness, well-known Church leaders have therefore admitted that "the Gospel of love is not ap-

. . . ANSWERED

Pacifism is Realism

PACIFISM is not an ideal for the future; it is realism for the present. Life is a quest for peace and happiness, both on the personal plane and in community. All religions and philosophies teach that peace and happiness can be attained only by service, self-sacrifice and the practice of virtue. The achievements which have resulted in the moral betterment of the world are the permanent elements in this world of change. The violence, cruelties and injustices of history are at the root of the problems which beset the present generation. Violence has been universally condemned in principle, and partly for moral reasons and partly because of the disastrous results it produces, men do their utmost to

plicable in a sub-Christian world."

The realist will therefore face these facts and set his standard as high as possible in the circumstances of his life and generation. To do more is not only futile, but detracts from the influence which a good man or woman could have in a sinful world. Although many would contend that human nature does not materially alter and that the world today is as wicked as it was 2,000 years ago, man discovers empirically that certain standards of conduct are harmful and in time adjusts himself to his environment accordingly. In this way he has, over the centuries, eliminated extremes of personal violence and thus war between national units, is, in our day, rare in its incidence. The large world units, which are able to disturb the peace, are in a position to destroy mankind, but because of the consequences of a war on this scale, it is probable that the progressive steps to abolish war which have been in evidence throughout the last 2,000 years of man's history will succeed in preventing this final catastrophe of war between the ideological blocs.

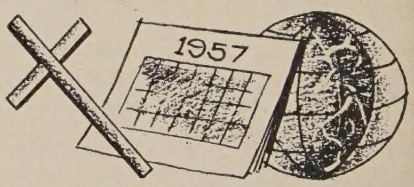
The steps which the nations have taken in the United Nations of building up the international functional organizations have greatly lessened the possibility of war. The potential conflict between the ideological blocs may, indeed, be resolved by some form of World Government or by the bloodless victory of one or other of the opposing "ways of life."

The pacifist alternative, which presupposes the moral conversion of mankind and changes in man's standards of conduct which are foreign to his nature, is not a practical alternative.

eradicate or ameliorate those results.

Realism, therefore, consists of living that kind of life and following those policies which it is admitted have resulted in the good which we have inherited from our forefathers. That man is capable of living his life at a high moral level is exemplified in the lives of countless individuals and it is incumbent on all men to live lives in accordance with the highest morality which they can conceive. It is obviously wrong to advocate policies of violence which one knows to be wrong and which can only have evil results and to do so merely because one feels that it is the best that can be expected of men and women in a "sub-Christian" world.

This especially applies to the Church. Christ came to a "sub-Christian" world and lived and taught His Gospel of love for the men and women of His time. Largely because of His revolutionary moral teaching He was killed. There is, however, no suggestion in His teaching that His Gospel could be applied only in a world which in the course of thousands of years

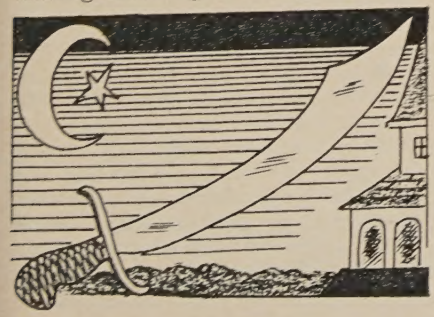


would have attained, in some unknown way, to higher moral standards. Quite the reverse is true. The notion that Christianity must to some extent compromise with the contemporary world seems entirely destructive of the Christian faith. Nevertheless it is quite clear that it is only on those grounds that nonpacifist Christians can maintain their case against pacifism.

War—The Final Arbiter of Destiny

Where there is no "rule of law" (and the rule of law among nations is still in an elementary stage), man necessarily has recourse to war, as a last resort. History is, to a major extent, the record of the results of this clash of rival forces seeking power. It is idle for the pacifist to say that "war decides nothing." It has decided everything. Wars have sometimes not achieved their purpose and at other times have proved inconclusive, but man's destiny in this world has, hitherto, been shaped by war. The rise and fall of empires have been decided by war, and the evil pretensions of Hitler's Germany were decided not on their ethical merits but by naked force. History is the record of the changes in the pattern of civilization achieved by force of arms and other facets of power.

The Christian Church was swept away over wide areas of the world by the forces of Mohammed in the seventh century and has never regained any part of the spiritual influence it lost them. It is idle for the Christian pacifist to claim that the overruling power of God will insure the preservation of His Gospel of love, when after 1,300 years it has not succeeded in re-establishing itself against pagan force.



War—The Final Arbiter of Human Destiny

Pacifists do not contend that war has settled nothing. War has settled many things and settled most of them wrongly. The fact that history is largely a record of problems settled by violence accounts for the moral chaos of the contemporary world. We live in a world of tension, fear, hatred and suspicion because we have inherited the aftermath of the problems of our ancestors. These problems have arisen from their violent settlements; the conflicts arising from their violent imperialism and their "victories" of exploitation of weaker people and lesser armed civilizations. *Of course,* war has settled problems. It has settled the pattern of civilization which has brought us to the edge of the abyss and to a world from which men want to escape.

It is true that war has set limits to Christianity. History has proved that Christianity has had no difficulty in superseding the lower and pagan faiths. But Mohammedanism has so much common ground with the Christian Faith that after more than a thousand years it still holds its adherents. When one considers the history of the Christian Church during the last thousand years is one surprised? As André Trocmé says, "The Moslem expects more from the Christian in the domain of forgiveness, love and nonviolence than he requires of himself; and it seems to be disappointment with a Christian West unable to live up to its faith that paralyzes the progress of evangelism in Islamic territory." What attraction can Christendom have for the Hindu and the Moslem when he contemplates the way in which "these

The Failure of "Resist Not Evil"

The commands of Christ that we "resist not evil" are obviously inapplicable in the contemporary world. Even pacifists concede this by their rejection of the Christian Gospel of nonviolence and the substitution of "nonviolent resistance." How in fact could they do otherwise, in face of the fact that one in every three nonresisting German Jews perished in Hitler's Germany? The pacifist endeavors to escape from these awkward facts by concentrating upon the argument that, had the principles which he advocates been practiced during the past fifty years, there would have been no dictated peace in 1919, no Hitler, no Stalin, no massacre of millions in concentration camps, no liquidation of tens of thousands under conditions of torture which have recently been adequately described by Khrushchev; but instead we should be living in a world of perfect peace and undisturbed happiness.

But this is merely to say, that if everyone had lived up to the teachings of the Sermon on the Mount we should have arrived at the Kingdom of God. This is merely "begging the question." We are not living in a pacifist world of pipe-dreams. The nonpacifist is entitled to a plain answer to the plain question, "In the world as it is, what does the pacifist do about the Hitlers and the Stalins and the thugs?"

Christians have loved one another" in the bloody wars of this century?

"Resist Not Evil"

We reap what we sow. One of the elementary laws of existence is that "nature is an orderly scheme in which each event is determined by the set of conditions that produced it." (Joad) Or as Jesus put it, "Do men gather grapes of thorns or figs of thistles?" Violence begets violence. Hitler and Stalin rose to power under conditions which produced those results. There is no quick solution to these problems. Pacifism is not an Aladdin's lamp which will miraculously enable the pacifist or anyone else to escape from the consequences of the laws of cause and effect. It has not been suggested that pacifism will not be costly. One has to reap the harvest of the violence of these past years.

What is quite clear, however, is that obviously the solution to our problems is *not* more violence.

In those few cases in the course of history, where nonresistance has been tried, it cannot be said to have been futile. It is too early to assess our debt to the martyrs who have died in the past twenty years, just as one could not have assessed in the fourth century the influence on the future of mankind of the Christians who endured torture and death for their faith for more than a decade. But the historian, Kenneth S. Latourette, says, "In this contest between ruthless force and unarmed, passive resistance, it was not the Imperial Government but the Christians, which emerged victorious. Presumably this would have been the eventual outcome, for Christianity was clearly proving itself the stronger." *That* is the

classic and too-little-known victory of nonresistance. We realize in the twentieth century what they failed to understand in the fourth. The intervention of Constantine and the linking of the Christian Church with power was the defeat, not the triumph, of the Christian Church, so that most Christians seek to recapture the spirit of the Early Church which was lost when the Church saw the solution to its problems in terms of power.

The story of the victory of Gandhi is too well known to need repeating here.

What Would You Do, If . . .?

You see, it is not sensible to ask, "Would Christ have dropped the Atom bomb on Hiroshima?" unless the pacifist has the answer to the question, "If Christ had been at Belsen, would He have stood aside when the gas was turned on?" Both these are real situations. It is unprofitable to discuss hypothetical situations. It is, admittedly, unsatisfactory to kill enemy citizens who have no real power, responsibility or even knowledge of the cruel and barbarous actions done in their name, but we live in an unsatisfactory world in which there is, at present, no way to distinguish the leaders of the nations from the millions of units which confer power upon them.

Thus, faced with an actual situation in Kenya, how does the pacifist react to the Mau Mau terrorist? In the same way the nonpacifist is entitled to a frank reply to his questions, "What would you do if you were personally attacked by a madman?" "What would you do if you were personally attacked by an armed thug?" It may be true that madness is a pathological state

"What Would *You* Do If . . .?

Let us be quite real about this. We do not live in a nonpacifist dream world. No one in this country does, in fact, carry a walking stick to protect himself from what is an almost nonexistent risk. Most of us have lived our lives without being attacked by anyone or knowing anyone who has had such an experience. This is not because our civil police are armed, but because there are few bandits. But if, notwithstanding this negligible risk in a real world, the pacifist is violently attacked without means of self-defense, then the pacifist seems to be in no better or worse position than the nonpacifist, who is similarly without means of self-defense; and their reactions might be similar and unpredictable. There is a far greater actuarial risk that we shall be killed by a drunken motorist. But in these various risks of life we must bear with what fortitude we can "what is coming to us." In any case the pacifist is primarily concerned with peace and war, and there is no analogy between a risk which is incidental to life and the building up of huge

which fortunately attacks only a tiny percentage of the population, but it can no longer be said that this has no relation to the subject of peace and war, merely because a whole nation does not become pathologically insane. Can it be said that Hitler was sane? After the revelations of Khrushchev can it be said that Stalin was sane? How does the pacifist suggest that a powerfully armed madman can be brought under control?

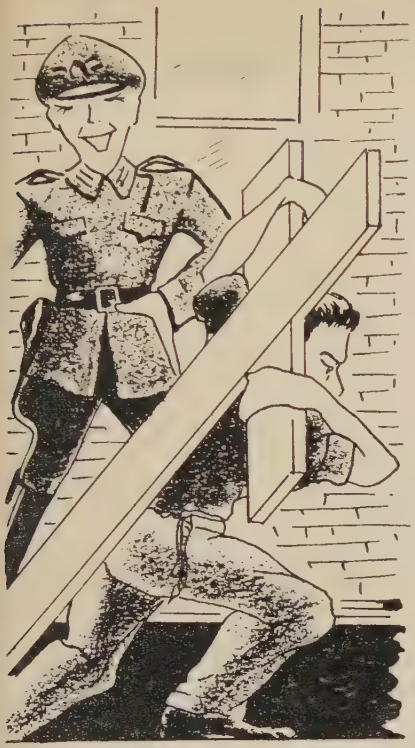
forces of mass destruction for the purpose of using them to further the national policy.

There is more challenge to the pacifist in the Mau Mau situation. That is a real situation. It may be that the only solution to the Kenya situation is to evacuate and compensate the three thousand white families who live there. Similarly, international lawlessness might continue and problems of great difficulty arise because of the folly and wrong done in the past. The sins of the fathers may be "visited upon the children unto the third and fourth generation." Pacifism does not claim to be an easy solution, but the only ultimate solution.

That is the issue between the pacifist and the nonpacifist. The nonpacifist, faced with what are deteriorating moral standards of mankind and a continuous crescendo of violence and evil, flies to the solution of more violence and more repression: flogging for delinquents, H-Bomb "deterrent" for the warlike, hanging for Kenya rebels, etc. The pacifist looks for causes. "What set of conditions produced these events?" Who is the realist?

We do not seek to cure the alcoholic by administering more alcohol in larger doses, or to cure the mentally distressed by causing him more irritation. The world is at the end of its tether. Let us be realistic and ask the scientist for his advice, because, if nature is the creation of God, the scientist and Jesus should be saying the same sort of thing.

In our generation, "Lunatic Asylums" have become "Mental Hospitals"; "voluntary patients" are taking the place of "certified lunatics"; "padded cells" are being dismantled; the tendency is to unlock



the ward doors and to encourage more leave and freedom.

Dr. Karl Menninger, one of America's leading psychiatrists, says: "Love is the touchstone of psychiatric treatment. Psychiatrists believe, with almost religious fervor, that it *can* be fostered, extended and used to subjugate hate and thus cure disease. They see this, day after day, as they work with their patients."

The coercive influence in schools, so marked a generation ago, is disappearing.

In the treatment of the criminal, the trend is the same: towards open prisons, psychiatric treatment, paid employment, probation, the employment of prison social workers.

Is it realistic to use repression, violence and war in one set of human relationships, and understanding, love and redemptive methods in other human relationships? The redemptive methods may entail some risks to the person, but the ultimate results are said to justify the risks.

The Futility of Suffering

Some pacifists, apparently despairing of the promise that "Whatever ye shall ask in my name, that will I do," are prepared to suffer for their pacifist faith and, as Christ was crucified, would follow in His way so that mankind would be moved by a demonstration of "suffering love" and thus "the blood of the martyrs should become the seed of the Church." But in the last twenty years, millions of men and women have suffered torture and death at the hands of their persecutors and the world is unmoved. Some of these martyrs have demonstrated that

Tragedy or Triumph?

We live too near to the events of the last fifteen years to assess the measure of their influence. Success or futility is, in any case, a measure that Christians should not use. It should be for Christians a matter of right or wrong. Nothing could be apparently more tragic and futile than the crucifixion of Christ. But some indications can already be seen of the insecurity of those things which seemed established in the past generation. Hitler's empire which was to have lasted "for a thousand years" only lasted a decade. The politics of the Western world for the past ten years have

they were giving their lives for their Christian faith; hundreds of Jehovah's Witnesses have been put to death rather than be unfaithful to their God. What likely effect would the deaths of a few hundred pacifists have in a similar situation? It is indeed starry-eyed to think that a personal gesture, however costly and admirable, is going to deflect the operation of world forces.

The Evidence of The Bible

The evidence of the Bible in regard to the case for pacifism is conflicting. The Old Testament is crowded with instances in which God resorted to war and violence and miraculous intervention in battle to forward the Jewish theological concept. This concept Christ came "not to destroy but to fulfil." The theological conception of the Cross as a pacifist demonstration on the part of Christ, is merely held by a tiny minority of Christians, mostly within the English-speaking Free Churches. This conception is rejected by the mainstream of Christianity, including the Roman and Greek Churches in which pacifism is almost unknown and where the traditional views of the Atonement and Salvation prevail.

(CONT. FROM RIGHT-HAND COLUMN)

attempt to live up to the principles they profess and which they regard as the basis of their faith.

That is why Pacifism is realistic. This would mean the end of war and incidentally the beginning of the Christian community that is the Christian Church.

been completely dominated by the fear that, by methods used in Stalin's Russia, the human mind would be closed to other ideals and the influence of religion. Those fears have, to a great extent, been dissipated within a few months. The words of Gamaliel are true throughout the ages: "Let them alone. If this counsel or this work be of men it will come to naught, but if it be of God we cannot overthrow it."

The Evidence is Clear

Biblical scholars are unanimous in rejecting the literal interpretation of a large number of events recorded in the Old Testament. The Old Testament is regarded as a progressive conception of man's relationship with God.

All Christians would believe that the essence of the teaching of Jesus was to proclaim a God of Love, within a conception of Universal Fatherhood, in which the brotherhood of man is explicitly taught. This is clear to any reader of the Gospels. The difference between the nonpacifist Christian and the Christian pacifist is as to whether the Gospel can be commended to the contemporary world, or whether it must be postdated indefinitely.

If Christians lived up to moral principles which *all* Christians agree were taught by Christ, even if only to the limited extent of refusing to kill fellow Christians at the command of the nation-state, then it would follow that the various states of which they were citizens would be powerless to make war.

We suggest that it is eminently reasonable to expect Christians to

(CONT. IN LEFT-HAND COLUMN)

"Wherewith You Are Called"

BY ELLAMAE CALVERT

THE HALFWAY MARK in a year of working with the Fellowship of Reconciliation has come so quickly. Now this desk which looked so huge when we first moved it into my room is comfortably piled with papers, and I, who began this work with much trepidation, relax as trooping across my memory come the new ideas, the new friends. In the midst of each story one distinct impression prevails. . . . The light in Jerry's eyes when The Idea stirs in his imagination. . . . Tac's troubled eyes as he tells about ROTC. . . . Seventeen year old Ben declaring, "I'll go to prison rather than register." . . . The YWCA president who says, "This is what I've always believed. Tell me more about FOR." Two Negro boys in contrast: Ted who despairingly said he shouldn't be talking with me because this would hurt my reputation; and Hank, who, when I told him I was seven before I saw a Negro, laughingly declared: "Southwest Wisconsin must be God's Country!" . . . Breta who loves a Negro and cried about the madness of race. . . . Young married couples with so many babies. . . . Lonely widows with so many memories. . . .

"These things are fine," you may say, "but what in the world does a field worker do all day?" Let me tell you about a week in a typical college community. It seems as if all FOR professors have 8:00 a.m. classes so I'm up early, if not so bright, for a sociology class where we will show the film, "Walk to Freedom," and, since I was in Montgomery, Alabama when buses were integrated, I'll talk about the nonviolent revolution in the South. I'll be in two other sociology classes tomorrow talking about "World Affairs and the Problem of Peace." Most of these students have terrible misconceptions about nonviolence and have spent little time thinking about it seriously. Many picked up the free literature I brought along and others signed up for more information on the Fellowship of Reconciliation. I have noticed that many students are willing to accept nonviolence as the method for declaring man's brotherhood in the South but cannot yet apply the same method internationally in declaring brother-

hood and resolving differences.

Luncheon meetings are always popular in this work (and it really saves in my expense account, too!) This noon the cabinet of the Student Christian Association met to discuss the possibility of their sponsoring a North-South exchange program on their campus. This is an FOR sponsored project in which a Northern integrated college and a Southern Negro college "adopt" one another, exchange letters, yearbooks, tapes with special messages and culminating in deputation teams visiting between campuses. Albion and Claflin, Wilmington and Knoxville are already planning such a program. This SCA cabinet intends to discuss it among their membership and then take the plan to the Student Senate for approval.

Meetings and Money

This afternoon I spent much time on the telephone making appointments with the chaplain—I'll be speaking in chapel Wednesday morning and at one of the religious foundations Sunday night—ministers in the local churches, the Church Federation, the Y's presidents of campus organizations, and the chairman of the local NAACP group. Usually when I'm in a city we can arrange for another series of meetings in the same community several months later, either on the general subject of non-violence or showing the film and talking about the South.

As many of you know, there is one aspect of this field work which especially intrigues me—that of fund-raising. For the past few months I've been collecting the names of millionaires in every community I've visited, hoping sometime to get past the maids and secretaries and talk directly to "da boss." Actually, this has happened once. The wife of the president of a manufacturing company answered the phone. He wasn't home and for some strange reason she gave me his private telephone number! So I called him, he gave me an appointment, and instead of the one-half hour interview I expected we talked for three. Something may come of this yet!

You may be interested in the project the students in one group have undertaken. While we talked we became more and more aware of local segregation problems and as a result these students decided to conduct a survey of local businesses to determine which employers will hire Negro stenographers in their offices or clerks in their stores. In preparation for these interviews with the employers they have planned a series of three meetings; an evening of sociodrama where they act out the interviews in advance; a meeting with a Negro community leader who will tell them about personal experiences she has had; and a meeting in which a professor will give them sociological background on the city which they will be surveying. Results of the survey will be passed on to Negro leaders who can use that information in job placement.

In all the classes in which I talked we announced a special meeting to be held tonight for students who were interested in specifically discussing what could be done on their own campus. Nineteen students came! None knew exactly why they had come but all were agreed that some kind of formal structure was needed in order for them to call meetings or spon-

sor projects. Then silence descended upon the group. Knowing that the leadership for such an organization had to spring from with the group and that this leadership couldn't be rushed, we sat in silence for a while and then I began to tell what a similar group at the University of Wisconsin had done, praying that something would spark their own imagination. And Finally it came. One boy said, "This excites me," and the group responded. Co-chairmen were chosen and each religious foundation was asked to choose a couple delegates to act together as an executive cabinet. I will be able to give help and encouragement but how this group will go rests essentially upon the interest and dedication of these students—how large that "spark" actually was—and the encouragement given by the several faculty members who belong to the FOR.

The Personal Aspect

Talks with individual people are one of the most rewarding parts of this work, the exciting give and take in conversations with nonpacifists, the eager discussions which pacifists have. Pacifists can become very lonely if there is no local group—then I love talking, telling about our new FOR home on the Hudson, how beautiful it is and how it can be used for retreats, leadership training institutes, etc.; the wonderful work Glenn Smiley is doing in the South; what is happening in the local FOR groups. Few things can be so wonderful as this kind of companionship between folks who love the same things.

When I leave a town there is always the hope that much has been accomplished but always too there is a feeling of deep inadequacy and the knowledge that any steps forward are not the result of my efforts but of the fact that God has been working among this group of people. With this sense of never being quite alone, each day becomes a new adventure which adds a richness to my whole being. It seems as if all my life I have been preparing for this work. These past months have been lived so intensely. As Thomas Kelly says, the wider the circle of my experience expands, the more "tendering" takes place within my own soul and the deeper sympathy I feel with all of God's creatures. No doubt you have experienced this sympathy too and are thankful for the FOR and the special witness it enables us to make. Sometimes I think St. Paul had us in mind when he wrote his plea:

> I beseech you that you walk worthy of the call wherewith you are called:
> Humble, for the world is God's not yours:
> Meek, for every human being with whom you are brought into contact is a soul
> For whom Christ died, a sacred personality;
> Patient, for the task is tremendous, and men are frail;
> Forbearing one another in love, for violence is useless and domination does not help.

RACISM'S LAST STAND

BY THEODORE BRAUN

DURING the last few months, the the nation has been intrigued with the story of a Mad Bomber—a mild-looking man who had all kinds of violent emotions raging within him. The town I live in is very much like that deceptive individual. A year ago, Henderson, Kentucky, was a small quiet town on the Ohio River. During its first 159 years, it had occasionally and quite respectably made the headlines in the Ohio valley and across the nation: "the only Ohio River town *on* the Ohio but never *in* it"; one of the earliest tobacco centers of the country and home of America's second millionaire; the one-time residence of John James Audubon and William C. Handy; the town where Mother's Day began. But during its 160th year, its fame suddenly spread, and its name was headlined in the newspapers of the world. The Henderson of mildness had been revealed as a Henderson with raging emotions.

This sudden world fame was not unique to Henderson. The same year had seen many little-known American towns thrown into world view—Mansfield, Clinton, Orangeburg, Americus, Sturgis, and Clay, as well as more famous cities such as Montgomery, Birmingham, Tallahassee and Atlanta. But they were all alike in not relishing their fame, for the notoriety pointed up the gap between American ideals and un-American practices.

The hour of trial came upon Henderson without much warning.

Seeing the handwriting upon the wall in the decision of the nine men of Washington, the town of 20,000 population (4,000 Negroes) had begun planning for school integration early in 1956 through a special committee. When the fall term began, a handful of Negro children had entered the first grades of several schools. For three weeks, everything went jim dandy, with jim crow conspicuous by his absence, and the town gave thanks that it had dealt with the problem without the trouble Sturgis and Clay were having thirty-three miles southward. But alas, the self-congratulation was premature.

The Bigot and the Pastors

An announcement soon appeared in the local newspaper that the rabble-rouser who had stirred up the trouble southward was coming to town to help organize a White Citizens Council and school boycott. At his first meeting, a huge crowd appeared, but also in attendance were thirteen pastors of the Henderson County Ministerial Association, led by two members of the Fellowship of Reconciliation. After the segregationist had finished, the president of the ministers read a statement in opposition —which was soon drowned out by booing that broke up the meeting. However, on Monday the boycott began, centered on the 800-pupil Weaverton school. By the following day, attendance dropped to an all-time low—206.

Meanwhile, the newly formed White Citizens Council and the Ministerial Association found themselves pitted against each other, the first using a sound truck to urge parents to keep their children out of school, and the second using the newspaper and radio spot announcements urging parents to continue sending their children. When the Council called another mass meeting, the ministers hit upon a new strategy. They called a meeting of the parents of the 206 attending pupils so that the parents could share their common concerns and find strength together. The school superintendent and police chief were also invited, to reassure the parents. Both Negro and white parents attended this meeting which was held in the church of one of the FOR members.

This one meeting seemed to break the backbone of the boycott, for the attendance started rising the next day. A few days later, a second parents' meeting was held to counteract another mass meeting. However, the battle was not completely won until the Kentucky attorney general came through with a statement that no school which had begun integration could stop such a process. In several weeks, attendance was back to normal, the White Citizens Council was silent and scattered, and the town breathed a sigh of relief after many days of hysteria, fear, hatred and raw emotions laid bare.

Today most townspeople would like to forget the experience, to shove it back into their subconscious. A great many people are still upset by the incident and wish the ministers had never gotten involved—"agitating" the situation, as it is termed. In fact, it was in the churches that the most critical aftermath took place—as members boycotted the churches by personal absence or by withholding financial support. Other church problems have increased, triggered by the pastors' involvement. This reaction was heightened by the fact that the

ministers stood alone—no other civic group or individual joined them.

When one tries to analyze what happened and why, one gets into all kinds of interesting sociological, psychological and theological sideroads. The people who attended the huge mass meetings of the White Citizens Council were largely from the lower-income section of town, and from the outlying farms and hill country. Their dress showed them to be the have-nots and have-lesses. Their speech showed them to be of limited education. They did a lot of Bible quoting (and misquoting) to justify their actions—always from the Old Testament. Some of them were people whom the Pentecostal and fringe sects had reached, and some had not even been reached by any organized religion. They were filled with a messianic zeal—especially their leaders. The latter found themselves listened to for the first time in their lives, and reveled in their new position of community importance. The fact that they were constantly being photographed and interviewed by radio and TV men only increased their fervor. However, this local leadership had neither the ability nor the experience to carry through this opportunity for leading—factional differences and jealousies constantly appeared. But their basic defect soon became evident—their main *forte* was in their negativism: they had no positive program to suggest. And negativism always carries within itself the seeds of its own destruction.

Audience Reactions

The main motive power for the movement then came from outsiders—Jerry Waller of Morganfield, Millard Grubbs of Louisville, Charles Dumas of Murray State, Kentucky, and Jack Kershaw of Nashville, Tennessee. When these speakers dwelt upon states' rights and the philosophy of segregation, the crowd would grow quiet and lose interest, many turning to go home. But when the speakers shouted invectives, daubing their pet hates with sneering adjectives, and devising cute names for their enemies, then the audience would come alive, cheering and stomping.

To point out that the obvious segregation supporters came from the have-not class is not to absolve the others. The middle- and upper-class members were conspicuous by their absence, but the majority of these were on the same side of the fence—although more genteel and covert. Usually the most progressive viewpoint came to something like this: "I guess integration can't be stopped, but it shouldn't be hurried . . . at least in our lifetime."

Although prejudice is something learned as one lives, and breathed in through the culture—caught as well as taught—it cannot be explained fully by saying it comes from the outside. There is that in every man that speaks of self-love and selfishness. To put prejudice in one term would be to say "pride." The poor white, low man on the White South's totem pole, feels the need for someone to be even lower than he. The rich white, wealthy from his exploitation of both poor white and Negro, also desires that the lower strata of the totem pole be maintained. Quickly stemming from pride is fear of a loss of status in the social scale, greed for safeguards and easy lucre, and hate of all meddlers with the status quo. Thus is built up the tremendous

catalog of stereotypes, fears and threats.

An FOR member, Chester Marcus, has stated the thesis that it is not the presence of the Negro but a relationship of equality that is objectionable to the white. The 160-year history of Henderson bears this out. The Negro has often lived in white homes here—as cook, nursemaid, and servant. This was perfectly all right—as long as it was a master-servant relationship. But for the Negro to live in the same situation as an equal—that would be unthinkable! Pride is the determining factor.

The Sex Shibboleth

The most explosive part of the desegregation problem is tied in with the question of intermarriage. This is the battle cry of all the segregation warriors. The psychological key to the whole question is given in the question "Would you want your daughter to marry a Negro?" Never is it stated "Would you want your son. . . ." This is because the Southern white man has used the Negro woman sexually, as well as both sexes economically and politically. Between 75% and 80% of the Negroes in America have "white" blood—a mixing which has gone on since early slavery days and still continues. The fact that in Henderson an ardent segregationist tries to buy a Negro woman points up once again the objection to equality but not to presence. What the white man has done and is still doing to the daughter of the Negro, he fears will happen sooner or later to his own daughter. Thus the question concerning her.

What the white Southerner does not understand is the dire consequence of his political, economic, and social behavior. When a person is used as a means to an end, he is something less than a child of God. It does something to the person so used. But it does something also to the person who does the using. He, too, becomes less than a child of God. His growth is stunted; his personality becomes something damned and enclosed, and can no longer flow free. The only way a person can grow to social and spiritual maturity is if he is exalted as an end in himself, and exalts others as ends, too.

The most exciting chapter in the exaltation of the human being comes out of the deeper South than Henderson—out of Montgomery and her sister cities. There, respect for the integrity and dignity of the person is being carried to its logical conclusion. There the antithesis to the nervousness and hotheadedness of the segregationist is being shown in calm courage and self-sacrificial love. It is there that the new frontier age of America has been ushered in, as the days of Davy Crockett and his cohorts who delighted in fighting the red-skinned Injun and the brown-skinned Mexican (and today, the Negro) have been superseded by a new day, led by the devotees of another freedom fighter, Mohandas Gandhi of loincloth rather than buckskin fame.

The Southern white, to put it mildly, has been surprised by the Negroes' response to violence. In a way, this unexpected response has added to his frustration, for his choice of weapons has been refused as unworthy. Violence has been increased in an effort to force a like response (for then the power of quantitative measure could be put into effect), but to no avail. The only result has been a strengthen-

ing of the nonviolent resisters, and a universal dismay at the destructive methods used—thus boomeranging on the users. Unnerved by this result, the aggressive segregationist is gradually coming to the realization that perhaps there is a kind of moral superiority in evidence here which he himself has not yet attained, and which will perhaps do the whole human family good, when the family is united.

Here one can catch a glimpse of the unique opportunity awaiting the FOR. Despite man's readiness to emphasize differences and to intensify human separation by threat and segregation, there is a yearning deep in the heart of man for the unity of the reconciled human family. To feel that one belongs because one is loved; to feel secure because one has no fears; to have an inner quiet because there is an accepted divine order about—this is real living. Belonging based upon distinctions of hate, and security founded upon physical might prove again and again to be empty. This is why the White Citizens Council member, by his *modus operandi,* only adds to his own frustration. And this is why those freedom fighters who have narrowly escaped death by bombing have been able to experience the peace that passes all understanding.

The FOR Answer

The FOR has the answer for the poor white who wants so much to belong. The desire for reconciliation will destroy fear. One no longer has to degrade another to be exalted. Rather one is exalted as he exalts another. There is a fellowship of real concern. And many of the Henderson people who are the most vocal segregationists are the ones representing broken homes. Their children have been problems in school and in the community as delinquents. Reconciliation has something to say to them, not only community-wise but family-wise, too. The FOR has an answer, also for the rich white who finds his position less than satisfying. Alienation is no fun in any shape or form.

But perhaps the greatest answer is reserved for the church, which, in the South, is so much a part of the problem rather than the answer. Although the church gives lip service to the great ideal of reconciliation, the bulk of its members have no desire to see this spelled out in their own locality and lifetime. Rather than being a colony of heaven, *in* the world but not *of* the world, it has become a social organization, and chief defender of the status quo. It becomes another product built in the South by Southerners for Southerners.

It is at this point that the FOR can fulfill its greatest work and destiny. The FOR is made up of people who have not pledged allegiance to the status quo and to the idols of the surrounding culture, who are not afraid to stick their necks out when need be, who are willing to practice reconciliation now in this imperfect age rather than waiting for the utopian age of established love and peace. Thus the FOR is in a unique position to take the lead in this new frontier age in America. It can also become a vehicle for the witnessing of frustrated church members who wish to move up closer to the front line than their individual church gives them opportunity to do.

These present years will go down

in American history as some of the most exciting and influential years ever known. The love of the crucified Lord and the power of the cross have been shown to Americans in a new way. It is a time when the dreams of the FOR (and the real church) have found a place in reality, with the whole world conscious now of this reality. Perhaps there may be yet the spilling of blood, but gradually America will see that in togetherness rather than in separaton lies strength and peace, and that the way includes respect for personality, deep-hearted sympathy, and redemptive love. These are great days for reconciling Americans, who with patriot dream and pilgrim feet are beating a thoroughfare for freedom. God shed His grace on them!

†

From a National Cemetery

Speak now for peace again.
  Balance the pleas.
Here lie the voiceless men;
  Say it for these.

Here they lie impotent;
  Only a stone
Tells that their lives were spent
  Shielding our own.

Power speaks; rulers speak;
  Pride has its say.
Blatant are those who seek
  Causes for fray.

But for these silent ones
  Peace must be said—
Peace among living sons,
  Peace for the dead.

Mary Cate Fullerson

THE WHITE SPOTS

By Kurt Tucholsky

IN THE DOROTHEENSTRASSE in Berlin stands a building that was formerly the Military Academy. At a man's height there is a granite border that runs around the house, slab after slab.

These slabs look peculiar: they have white spots; the brown granite is light in many places—what can it be?

White spots, are they? They ought to be reddish ones. This is where the German casualty lists were posted in the "great" years.

This is where those terrible sheets of paper were posted, new ones almost every day, those endless lists with names, names, names. . . . I own a copy of No. 1 of these documents; on it the outfits are still carefully noted, there are few dead on this first list; No. 1 was very brief. I don't know how many more appeared after it—but there were well over a thousand. Name after name—and each time it meant that a human life had been snuffed out or that a human being was "missing," crossed out for the time being, or wounded, or maimed.

That's where they were posted, where these white spots are now. Hundreds of silent people crowded around them, people who had their dearest ones out there and who were trembling that they might read one name among all the thousands. What did they care about all the Müllers and Schulzes and Lehmanns who appeared on these lists? Let thousands upon thousands perish—as long as *he* wasn't among them. And it was on this mentality that the war battened. And it was because of this mentality that it could go on like this for four long years.

People have said that I don't know the way a German can die; I know it well enough. But I also know how a German woman can weep—and I know how she weeps today, now that she slowly, excruciatingly slowly, realizes what her man has died for. What he has died for. . . .

Am I rubbing salt on wounds? I should like to burn the celestial fire into wounds, I should like to cry out to the mourners: He died for nothing, for a madness, for nothing, nothing, nothing!

In the course of the years these white spots will gradually be washed away by the rain and disappear. But those other spots cannot be effaced. There are traces engraved on our hearts that will not go away. And each time I pass the Military Academy with its brown granite and white spots, I silently say to myself: Promise it to yourself. Make a vow. Be active. Work. Tell the people. Liberate them from national madness, you, with your small power. You owe it to the dead. The white spots cry out. Do you hear them? They cry: No more wars!

Translated by Harry Zohn

EC Ponders H-Bombs, Communists, and the South

Pacifist protests against pending British H-Bomb tests in the Pacific, a question about the presence of staff members at a recent Communist Party Convention, and reports on the progress of the organization's new committee to raise money to aid victims of racist violence in the South, were the principal items discussed at the April 1 meeting of the FOR Executive Committee in New York

The H-bomb tests came in for consideration in discussion of proposals in Britain, Japan and the United States for a protest party to sail a ship into the danger area. Proponents of the idea argued that such a nonviolent protest would dramatize the issue of the continued hazards in these tests. Members of the Committee were interested in the proposal, but concluded that the many practical difficulties could hardly be solved in the short time remaining before the tests would begin. However, the Committee encouraged the staff to continue discussions with British and Japanese pacifists, giving such aid as seemed possible, and to explore the possibility of preparing some such protest in time for any future tests.

The Communist issue arose in connection with a letter from James Street, a member of the Fellowship, criticizing the presence of pacifists, including two FOR staff members, as "impartial observers" at the 16th National Convention of the Communist Party, U.S.A., held in New York City February 9-12. A subsequent statement signed by eight of the observers was also criticized by the writer of the letter, who referred to it as "screwball pacifism at its worst."

Observing that he had "high regard" for the individuals concerned, Mr. Street argued that persistence in their course, which he described as lending themselves to "the Party's effort to rehabilitate itself without giving up any of its essential doctrines or characteristics," would "compromise the pacifist position and destroy its hope of future influence." Mr. Street urged the Fellowship to "positively dissociate itself" from the statement, "however painful this may be."

Discussion in the Executive Committee revolved around the question of whether the criticized actions were violations of the FOR policy against organizational collaboration with the Communists. The Committee concluded that they were not. Some members of the Committee also expressed doubt as to the right of the FOR to place restrictions on attendance at meetings by staff members.

Alfred Hassler and A. J. Muste, the staff members who attended, and George Willoughby, a member of the Committee who was also an

observer, reiterated their conviction that attendance at the convention had been a wise move. They recalled that the FOR's concern for civil liberties had dictated several meetings at which platforms were made available to Communists. Muste spoke of the "real ferment" in the Communist ranks, and Hassler reported that a "politically sophisticated democratic socialist" had observed that the pacifists had "forced the entire Left to give serious attention to the pacifist ethic and to the relationship of ends and means."

The Committee agreed that discussion of the general subject should be scheduled for forthcoming meetings of the National Council. No move was made to dissociate the organization from the criticized actions.

The Committee heard reports of the development of the Committee to Aid the Bombed Christians of the South (see news item elsewhere on these pages), and on the forthcoming dedication service for the new peace center in Nyack.

Thirteen Elected to National Council

Three new members were elected to the FOR National Council, and ten incumbents reelected, in balloting that ended April 1. More than 1100 votes were recorded.

Newly elected to the Council were Paul Deats, Assistant Professor of Religion and Social Ethics at Boston University School of Theology (formerly appointed to the Council by the New England region); Clarence Jordan, Baptist minister and best-known member of the interracial and pacifist Koinonia Farm, in Americus, Georgia; and Carl Landes, chaplain and Professor of Philosophy at Southern Union College, and a former FOR staff member.

Reelected were Corinne Bowers, chairman of the New York Regional FOR; Cecil Hinshaw, AFSC Peace Education Secretary in Des Moines, Iowa; V. C. Johnson, dairyman and chairman of the Jacksonville, Florida, FOR group; Paul Miller, Professor of History at Hiram College; Claud Nelson, director of the Department of Religious Liberty of the National Council of Churches; Emily Parker Simon, secretary of the Baltimore Peace Council; Frances Smith, pacifist worker in Evanston, Illinois; Lyle Tatum, AFSC Middle Atlantic Regional Secretary; William O. Tilenius, New York advertising executive and former national treasurer; and George Willoughby, executive secretary of the Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors.

The largest number of votes recorded for any candidate was 1033; the smallest was 516. The smallest vote for an elected candidate was 735.

EC Approves 18 Conferences

A program of up to eighteen area and regional conferences in place of a single national conference was approved by the Executive Committee of the FOR at its April 1 meeting in New York. The pattern follows a recommendation endorsed by the National Council, of alternating between one conference and a series.

The proposal was made by National Field Secretary, Glenn Smiley, for the staff. He pointed out that the usual national conference

actually draws most of its delegates from the region in which it is held, and that the proposed series of conferences would give an opportunity for attendance to many more FOR members.

The conferences will be held during June and July. Smiley or Executive Secretary John Swomley will be on the program at all of them, together with additional speakers. Announcements of time and place will be sent out to each area group.

IVS Work Camp Aids New FOR Headquarters

Nine work campers of the International Voluntary Service spent March 30 to April 6 at the new FOR headquarters, serving as painters, plumbers, carpenters and gardeners.

Austrian FOR member Ernst J. Weber, on his first visit to the United States served as team leader, and Sylvia Milstam, a member of Förbundet för Kristet (the Swedish FOR) was co-leader. Both are attending Pendle Hill, the Quaker study center. Another foreign student is Edward Khairallah, from Lebanon, who is a graduate student at Harvard University.

Four States and two American colleges filled the remaining team places. Arlene O'Bryan of Grasscreek, Wyoming, attends Earlham College. Barry Davis of Wheatland, Wyoming; Bob Gwynne of Long Island, N. Y.; Anthony Botony of Brooklyn, N. Y.; Thomas Ashby of Parma, Idaho; and Ferderic J. Schroeder of San Diego, California, are all Dartmouth College students.

Pierre Ceresole, who in 1919 helped to organize the International FOR, founded the International Voluntary Service in 1920. A prominent Swiss citizen, he died in 1947, after seeing his work camp idea spread over the world.

Page to Lead FOR Retreat

On May 28, Kirby Page, longtime FOR member, will lead a one-day retreat at FOR headquarters in Nyack, N. Y., especially for ministers and church workers.

Page is well known as a lecturer, world traveler and author of many books, as well as leader of summer European study tours.

The retreat will last from 10 A.M. to 5 P.M. There is a $1 registration fee, and lunch is also $1. Tea will be on the house.

Nixon Report Stresses Equality for Africa

"We cannot talk equality to the peoples of Africa and Asia and practice inequality in the U. S.," declared Vice-President Richard M. Nixon in his official report on his trip to Africa, made public last month.

One of Nixon's proposals for a new Bureau of African Affairs in the State Department has already been discussed and approved by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, according to the assistant Senate Majority Leader, Senator Mike Mansfield (D-Mont.).

Editorializing on the Vice-President's report, The New York *Post* suggested that some help might be given the embattled Negro leaders in the South, since "our conduct at home may decide the battle of Africa."

Quaker Institute Stars Mayer, Worthy

Milton Mayer, an editorial contributor to FELLOWSHIP, and William Worthy, correspondent of the Baltimore *Afro-American*, are among the featured speakers at the fifth annual New England Institute of the American Friends Service Committee, to be held at Avon-at-Pembroke, New Hampshire, July 20-27.

Worthy has been in the news recently for going to Communist China earlier this year in defiance of a U.S. State Department ban on visits by American newsmen to that country. His visit to China and other Communist countries is expected to furnish substantial basis for discussion. The theme of the Institute is "The Quaker Approach to Contemporary Affairs." Also participating will be Grigor McClelland, a British Quaker who has recently visited China and Russia; AFSC Chairman Henry J. Cadbury; Morris Mitchell, director of the Putney Graduate School; and Ralph Nader, editor of the Harvard Law Record. Dean of the Institute is Russell Johnson, Peace Secretary of the New England AFSC.

Another AFSC gathering, the Middle Atlantic Region Institute, will be held at Chatham College, Pittsburgh, Pa., July 14-19, featuring Dorothy Hutchinson, Milton Mayer, Grigor McClelland and Norman Whitney, with Stephen Cary as dean. Both institutes will offer a program of talks, round-table groups and panel discussions on current issues and basic viewpoints.

Further information may be obtained from these AFSC offices: Avon-at-Pembroke Institute, AFSC, Box 247, Cambridge 38, Mass.; Chatham Institute, AFSC, 20 South 12th Street, Philadelphia 7, Penn.

357 Frenchmen Protest Brutality in Algeria

A group of 357 of France's leading writers, churchmen and political leaders recently submitted to President Réné Coty a protest against the killing of unarmed Moslems and the torture of prisoners under questioning. A file of testimoney giving factual support to the protest was also submitted.

Other recent consequences of France's use of terroristic violence included the resignation of his command by a French general in Algeria and the return of a government award by a prize-winning French novelist. The general, Jacques Paris de Bollardiere, resigned after a "categorical refusal to submit himself to orders and to apply methods that he deems to be inadmissible," according to the influential daily *Le Monde*.

The writer, Jean Bruler, better known by his pen name, "Vercors," on March 28 returned his insignia of the Legion of Honor in protest against "the tortures in Algeria." Bruler is the author of *You Shall Know Them* and other books. He first attained prominence as a resistance writer during the Nazi occupation.

Another French writer, Jean-Jacques Servan-Schreiber, editor of the liberal weekly *L'Express*, is under indictment for publishing articles "calculated to undermine the morale of the French Army by accusing it of brutality in repression." General Paris de Bollardiere, in a letter to *L'Express* published March 29, came to Servan-Schreiber's defense.

The various protests have so far reached such a pitch that Socialist Premier Guy Mollet has been moved to defend the armed forces' conduct in a speech to the National Assembly. As reported in earlier issues of FELLOWSHIP, the French Fellowship of Reconciliation has repeatedly sought an end to the warfare in Algeria, and André and Magda Trocmé have made a number of trips there to promote good will between the French and Moslems, even in the midst of the fighting.

British Labor Urges H-Bomb Test Delay

On April 17 the British Labor Party was defeated 309-258 in a motion urging postponement of H-bomb tests scheduled by the British government to be held in the Christmas Island area of the Pacific. Abolition of future tests through international agreements with other countries was also proposed.

The labor movement has been deeply stirred by the H-bomb tests, and the Labor party's left wing is pushing for complete abandonment of the British tests.

Red Label Concocted For Koinonia Farm

Koinonia Farm, a storm center of Christian interracialism in the Deep South, was charged last month with being a possible front for the Communist party.

In the latest of a long series of attempts by local white supremacists to get rid of Koinonia, a Sumter County (Georgia) grand jury reported that Koinonia had "close friends among known Communists and has entertained known Communists." In a 20-page presentment, the jury said that a week-long inquiry had uncovered "evidence" that Koinonia might be a front for the Communist party.

Norman Long, president of the community, vigorously denied the charges and added: "These are our homes. If the choice is to leave or die, then we shall have to die."

Long's statement was supported by a letter signed by 23 Georgia ministers, which asserted that "no connection exists between Koinonia Farm and the Communist Party."

A spokesman of the National Council of Churches wrote: "You have our concern and our prayers."

In the past year, Koinonia has been subjected to bombings, machine-gunnings, cross-burnings and economic pressure. On February 24, a 70-car motorcade of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan visited Koinonia and asked community members to sell out and move away. The request was met with a polite but stubborn refusal.

Koinonia's economy continues to be under strain. As of March 25, the community had no insurance of any kind, and had been refused even by Lloyds of London, a firm well known for its readiness to insure virtually anything. As an alternative the resourceful Koinonians have devised a Christian Brotherhood Insurance Plan, issuing $50 pledges to its friends throughout the country. The pledges are expected to total $100,000. In the event of a $10,000 loss, each person who signed a pledge would be asked to send $5 in cash. The greater the number of pledges, however, the smaller would be the cash amount per person in case of trouble.

Negro Leaders Plan Washington Pilgrimage

In Washington, D. C., last month top Negro leaders met to plan a national "prayer pilgrimage for freedom." Among the leaders were Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the NAACP; A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, AFL-CIO; and the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., of Montgomery, Alabama.

The pilgrimage, slated for May 17, will mark the third anniversary of the Supreme Court decision outlawing segregation in the public schools. "It is intended to be a dignified and constructive protest against the violence and massive resistance to the Supreme Court's decision and to demonstrate our support for civil rights legislation in Congress," said Clarence Mitchell, Washington director of the NAACP.

The leaders said they expected a minimum of 50,000 Negroes to participate in the pilgrimage. A request has been made for permission to hold an outdoor meeting on the steps of the Lincoln Memorial.

Florida Legislator Wins Anti-Bias Heritage Award

In February, John B. Orr, Jr., a member of the Florida House of Representatives, was presented with the annual Heritage Award of the Fund for the Republic. An outspoken foe of segregation, Orr was first elected in 1954 and has consistently opposed bills designed to circumvent the Supreme Court ruling on jim crow.

'I believe segregation is morally wrong," said Orr in a speech before the Legislature. "I believe that God intended us to live in harmony, and that His plan has been sidetracked from time to time by humans who have felt the necessity of having someone to look down on."

In 1956, Orr weathered an extremely vicious Democratic primary, defeating two racist opponents by a handsome margin. Earlier, a small Miami group had charged that Orr was a Communist, and had called for an investigation by the legislature. Orr was quickly cleared. Letters of praise have outnumbered threats and insults by 10 to 1.

The Heritage Award citation stated: "He reinforced and strengthened the American tradition by refusing to remain silent . . . in the face of overwhelming opposition [in the legislature], by risking his political life to remain true to his beliefs. . . ."

FOR Member Gets Biracial Jail Sentence

The Rev. Ashton Jones, Atlanta FOR member, was jailed recently in Florida and ordered by the judge to spend half of his thirty-day sentence with Negro prisoners and half with whites.

On his first arrest in Miami, Jones received a suspended sentence (see News, April FELLOWSHIP). When brought before the judge a second time, charged with assault and battery, Jones was found innocent; but the previously suspended sentence was revoked and he was remanded to prison.

The assault and battery charge was brought by a John Kasper lieutenant who was in charge of picketing the home of a Negro entertainer who had recently moved into a white neighborhood.

Church Federation Urges Loyalty Oath Repeal

On March 11 the Los Angeles Church Federation called on church people of California to support a pending bill to repeal the state loyalty oath, and to defeat a bill to take away tax exempt status of institutions alleged to harbor subversives.

"When the state presumes to define under what conditions the church constitutes a medium of expression for subversion, it arrogates to itself the power to regulate the nature of the church and its form of communication," said the Federation resolution.

Catholic Archbishop Bids Racist Legislators Resign

Roman Catholic Archbishop Robert E. Lucey of San Antonio on March 25 called upon segregationist legislators to resign, and condemned pro-segregation bills pending in the Texas legislature.

"If any members of our legislature are so filled with hatred against colored citizens that they are incapable of doing them justice, they ought to resign," he said.

The prelate spoke out after the House tentatively passed a bill to bar members of the NAACP from public employment in the State.

A few days later, speaking at El Paso, Episcopal Bishop Everett Holland Jones, president of the Texas Council of Churches, said, "Equal rights for all men is God's plan, not just that of the U.S. Supreme Court."

Oxnam Bids Nixon See King in South

Methodist Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam of Washington, D. C., has urged Vice President Nixon to go to Montgomery and visit Martin Luther King, Jr.

"May I be so bold," said Bromley, "as to suggest that Mr. Nixon undertake another good will tour . . . and call upon the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., and look at the bombed houses of clergymen."

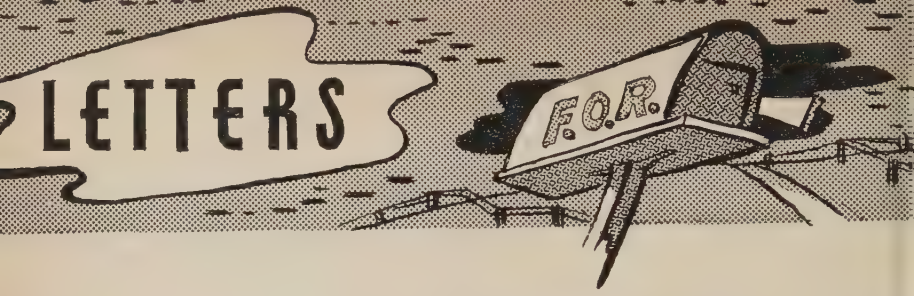
The bishop, speaking at a special lenten service at Washington's First Baptist Church, said that Nixon "could . . . render the nation a service of major importance" by visiting the South, and urged him to confer with liberal Southern editors, educators and college students to seek a solution to the Southern crisis.

Massachusetts Churchmen Urge Halt to Death Penalty

In Boston last month the board of directors of the Massachusetts Council of Churches urged a five-year suspension of the death penalty for capital crimes.

Among the denominational leaders sponsoring the statement were Episcopal Bishop W. Appleton Lawrence of Western Massachusetts, who is also a member of the FOR Advisory Council; Dr. Edwin H. Tuller, executive secretary of the State Baptist Convention; and Dr. Frederick May Eliot, president of the American Unitarian Association.

The statement was sent to some 1800 Protestant clergymen and other leaders throughout the state.



Inspiration

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

While on my vacation in San Juan a few weeks ago I had occasion to speak before a Methodist Fellowship (an interracial group of Puerto Ricans) on the problems of racial integration in both the North and South in the United States. Fortunately I had taken the February issue of FELLOWSHIP along to San Juan to read in spare moments. For in the talk that I gave before the young people I was able to make good use of part of the article by Martin Luther King. The students were very interested in what I had to say and one of the most searching questions they asked was this: "How could people who called themselves Christians segregate themselves from Negro Christians especially on Sunday?"

Also, of a different nature, I have just finished reading in the March FELLOWSHIP about the wonderful work of Danilo Dolci. It is work by men like him that helps to put inspiration in the work I am trying to do with the poor and uneducated people in the hills of Puerto Rico. I was gripped with a feeling of inadequacy when I read the article because I sometimes complain to myself about various things in my CO work. Yet when I read of the sacrificial love that Dolci has been showing for people even worse off than the people we work with here at our mission project, I couldn't help but feel a little inadequate, yet I couldn't help but also feel inspired by what he has been doing. I certainly would like to see more articles like that one in FELLOWSHIP.

LEE H. LYBARGER
Christian Service Center
San Sebastian, Puerto Rico

Three Extensions

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

I have made three extensions of pacifism. Realizing that all my fellow pacifists are in "danger" of making similar extensions, I would like to "warn" them.

I have extended my pacifism to include God's creatures as well as God's children. Therefore I refrain from eating meat, fowl and fish, and from using products made with leather, bone, fur or feathers. Since making this extension of pacifism I feel an at-oneness not only with all human beings but also with all of God's other creations and with God.

I have extended my pacifism to include non-payment for war as well as non-participation in war. Therefore I live below income tax level, and avoid all other direct federal taxes by living without luxury items, amusements, etc. Since making this extension of pacifism I have been living in harmony with my conscience and experiencing the great freedom of simplicity.

I have extended my pacifism to include psychological violence as well as physical violence. Therefore I do not criticize, judge or harbor any negative feeling toward my brothers and sisters, knowing that those who are spiritually ill enough

to do not-good things are in need of transforming love and prayer. Since making this extension of pacifism I have been able to talk about the way of love and peace to people from all walks of life and through the medium of all the news services.

PEACE PILGRIM
Cologne, N. J.

"Two Swords"—enough!

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

Often one hears the justification for defenses that Jesus said to his disciples, "He that hath none, let him sell his cloak and buy a sword." Perhaps this was an indulgence on the part of Jesus, knowing the weakness of all men, and that they were not prepared to meet the coming test without some form of defense. When told: "Here are two swords," he promptly answered by saying: "It is enough"!—enough to satisfy their reliance upon an outward form of resistance; but not enough to defend Jesus, as he suggests later. When Jesus was being arrested, one of the disciples drew his sword and struck off the ear of the High Priest's servant. Jesus rebuked him for his zeal by telling him to put up his sword, with the observation that "all they that take the sword shall perish with the sword." Then he affirmed that he had the authority to call upon the Father to send twelve legions of angels to protect him. What of two swords against evil as compared with twelve legions of peace lovers, nonviolent defense?

And who will doubt the possibilities of such a defense as we see the impact of quiet, confident, persistent, loving nonresistance by the suppressed people of the South today? A people supposedly freed by the sword, but under servitude and submission, when the time came they have arisen for their liberation with faith and hope, much as the Israelites were liberated from Egyptian bondage. May "two swords" be enough, and pray that the power of love will overcome all hate.

SAMUEL COOPER
Moorestown, N. J.

Niebuhr Fits the Facts?

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

When J. Ferguson inveighs so sharply against Reinhold Niebuhr (FELLOWSHIP, September 1956), I'm prompted to reply. Most of Niebuhr's writings fit the facts of life too well to gainsay. His attack against the Hellenistic influence upon Christianity is most illuminating and I feel, correct. I suspect Mr. Ferguson of letting his animus outdo his better judgment. I have found Niebuhr's argument, generally, to bring us a more truly Christian Christianity which would help man realize the Kingdom of God on earth much more fully than is now being achieved by our Hellenistic idealists and humanists. Niebuhr isn't God; he's a mere man and implies as much in his writings. He has disturbed me, however, when he advised us to get into World War II, but who am I to be dogmatic in such a tremendous issue? But I know he is right when he accuses many "pacifists" of being pugnacious and even unbrotherly in their demands for "peace"; I think he wants them to be more peaceable.

PAUL BRINKMAN, JR.
Portland, Oregon

How Does Love Conquer?

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

If we look at what the men in Washington, and others, want to be true, we notice they want the Soviet Union to be evil. They want the USSR to be bent on world domination. They want the U. S. to be in danger of attack. They want it to be necessary to maintain military forces around the world, to develop guided missiles, to explode nuclear weapons, etc. They do, and want it to be

necessary to do, those things which pacifists oppose.

There is a pacifist school which holds that love can conquer armies and is the most powerful force in the world. I do not take that position and have never been able to understand what that would mean in a specific situation. It would help me to understand it if someone would answer for me this "what would you do if . . ." question:

Assuming that you have whatever it takes to fully practice your beliefs, how would you, in an all-out effort, overcome by love the war attitude in Washington?

WALTER GORMLY
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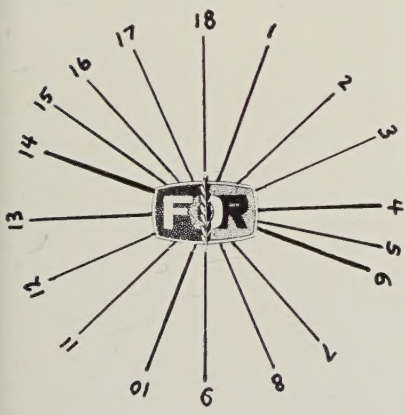
FOR NATIONAL CONFERENCE ÷ 18

EQUALS WHAT?

The equation is really quite simple. Take the FOR National Conference, divide it eighteen ways, and you get a dozen and a half regional and local FOR conferences. Behind this simple arithmetic is a bit of geographical calculation. In past years, the national conference location invariably was a boon to some, but a barrier to many who were not prepared to journey a thousand miles or more even for such an important event. So, at the cost of keeping a number of sought-after pacifist speakers on the go, the Fellowship anticipates a much larger attendance and participation than would be possible in the old way.

From June 27 through July 3, Executive Secretary John M. Swomley, Jr. and National Field Secretary Glenn E. Smiley will lead conferences in the following localities: June 27—**Pittsburgh***; June 28—**Evansville, Ind.**; June 29, 30—**St. Louis**; July 1—**Kansas City, Mo.**; July 2—**Wichita, Kans.***; July 3—**Denver.**



For the balance of July, John Swomley's itinerary will diverge from Smiley's: July 9—**Los Angeles**; July 10—**Modesto, Cal.***; July 11—**San José, Calif.***; July 12—**East Bay Area***; July 13, 14—**Seattle.** Glenn Smiley will swing through the Midwest: July 6—**Lincoln, Nebraska***; July 11—**Madison, Wis.**; July 12—**Detroit.***

Conferences in **Cleveland, Rochester, Philadelphia** and **the South** will be held in August and September, but are still being planned. At each of the eighteen conferences, local speakers will also be featured. For further details, see your local or regional newsletter, or write to National Field Secretary Glenn E. Smiley at the National Office.

* Tentative

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The meaning of Jesus' Third Temptation in a time of war and totalitarianism
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and the way to peace
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Statement of Purpose of The Fellowship of Reconciliation

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